1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stopped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing.

Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweatlodge. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth; a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi.

The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breechcloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter.

Hilliff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

000 the Indians out on the mesa, and no school to teach, perhaps the new man would have time to do just that. I envied him. Yet I knew that this was his first association with the Indian people, and he would need the time to become acquainted with those remaining in the village and to understand the Indians' slow transition from primitive life to the complexities of modern civilization.

648 On the day of my departure the few friends who were still in the village came up to say good-by. Vesnor and Lanoman, Walapai Bill, old Captain Gabe came—and precious, old, Gentle Annie, wearing my strawberry-red dress, much dimmed by constant washing in the stream and exposure to sun. We shook hands. Questions were asked, "Why you go? You no come back?" Gentle Annie's gnarled fingers clung to my hand. "You no go," she insisted. "Pretty good you stay."

They were anxious about the future. The one in charge of the reservation could assume almost any authority over them that he pleased; and strong men that they were, they resented being told when they might "go out or come in."

000 Few farewells have been so difficult for me.

At Hilltop that night we cooked our supper on a stove that had been set up in the warehouse for use during inclement weather. We ate outside in the frosty air, only a few yards from that bowl-shaped abyss which had so filled me with awe the last time I stood on its rim. I had been uncertain then as to what I might find at the end of the trail. Now I knew that there were floods, and falling columns of stone; that the thermometer soared to one hundred and seventeen degrees and forgot to come down. But I [181] knew also that a kindly, trusting people lived there—a people gifted with native wisdom, warm with laughter and carefree play; and children who needed an uncrowded school, offering better opportunities for adjustment to the alien culture we were thrusting upon them. And there were canyon walls with their guarded secrets—one of them a sealed cave filled with the ancient arms and tools of Those of Old.

I climbed to the wagon seat for the two-day drive to Seligman,

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

should the man born with a mental advantage over his fellows exercise that advantage any more than the man born with a physical advantage? We have not quite ceased to worship the Sullivans, the Corbetts, and the Fitzsimmonses, and, where we have, we have transferred our worship to the intellectually strong, many of whom are no more worthy our homage than the prize fighters. So now it is the intellectually strong who prey upon the intellectually weak, and, as in the physical conflict, it is inevitable that the weak "go to the wall." In simple cunning the Havasupai Indian may be our superior, but in deep craft he is "out of the field." His bow and arrow tipped with obsidian or flint pitted against our repeating rifle; his rolling of heavy rocks opposed to our Gatling guns; his mule and burro against our iron horse; and his pine torch against our electric light, — all demonstrate him to be in his intellectual minority, or at an intellectual disadvantage. He makes a fine figure in our romances, but I sadly fear that the knell of his doom has sounded, and that a few generations hence he will be no more.

Wallapai and Havasu Canyons, far more than the Grand Canyon, meet the popular idea as to what a canyon is. Their walls are narrow and precipitous, and one staying in their depths must be content with a late sunrise and an early sunset. Just above the rude bridge before described are several natural reservoirs of water. Here the canyon is not more than from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet wide. This close proximity of the walls, which fairly overshadow one, compels one to feel his insignificance far more than when he stands in the wider and more comprehensive vastness of the Grand Canyon.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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CHAPTER XV

THE SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE HAVASUPAIS

342 362 FROM the cradle to the grave the life of a Havasupai is practically an out-of-door life. Their hawas — even the best of them — are partially exposed and open, and in the summer hawas there is no pretence at what among civilized peoples is essential privacy.

526 The games of the Havasupai children seem very few. I have seen only three. Of the first importance is shinny, or, as they call it, *tho-se-vi'-ga*. The goals are *go-ji-ga'*, the ball, *ta-ma-na'-da*, and the playing stick *ta-se-vig'-a*. The boys enter into this with the zest one would expect of such a time-honored game, yet, such is their general indifference to prolonged effort, they do not play it very often.

An easier game, but generally left to the girls, is, *hui-ta-gui'-chi-ka to-ki'-bi-ga*, which I have fully described in my book on the Grand Canyon.

[177] The third game is stolen bodily from the Navahoes, except the name, which with the Havasupais is *Tid-wi-ga*. It is the Nan-zosh, and is elsewhere fully described in these pages.

181 Such a paucity of games is indicative of low mental power, lack of imagination and invention, and results in, or perhaps *from*, a slow, heavy mental tempera-

ment. There is no comparison between the children of the same ages of the Havasupais and the Navahoes or Hopis. And yet, when they enter school, some of the Havasupais learn with a rapidity equal to that of these other children. 181

It seems strange to find a people whose children have no equivalent for dolls; nothing specifically to care for. They are capricious in their treatment of their domestic animals, cats and dogs, sometimes petting them to excess, and then lifting the yelping or squalling creatures by the legs, twisting these members over their backs, or otherwise torturing them. [231]

The boys and the girls, as well as the men and women, are expert horse riders. Every family has its horses, and the children ride from their earliest years. Even as I write I catch glimpses now and then of a red-shawled girl on horseback and hear the hard strike of the horse's hoofs as he dashes along at break-neck speed along the trail near the hawa of my host. All ride astride, and are as fearless in ascending and descending the steep trails that give access and egress to their canyon home as the wildest and most expert of the Rough Riders. 492

One of their great sports and gala times is when visiting Indians — Navahoes, Hopis, or Wallapais — come with fleet horses and races are arranged for. While they have no "Derby Day," they have days on which half the personal property of the village is pledged on the success of certain horses. They are inveterate gamblers; and blankets, buckskins, saddles, bridles, Navaho jewelry, horses, burros, and everything "gambleable" are risked on the outcome. And what an exciting scene an Indian horserace is, and how picturesque! There 541 525 [574]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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437 could ever find a purchaser, and partially at myself for being so foolish as to want to carry it away. But I obtained some fine specimens, though much worn, of the workmanship I desired, so could afford to be very complaisant at the derision I aroused.

157 The Havasupai is one of the most jolly, frolicsome, and light-hearted of mortals. With his stomach full he ●181 has no cares, and he goes into fun with a zest and energy that are pleasing. He is fond beyond measure of practical jokes, — when he is not the victim, — and cares very little who suffers so long as he can obtain fun. Consequently if one meets with a misfortune, especially a laughable one, he need expect little, if any, sympathy in Havasu Canyon.

They are a singular mixture of frankness and cunning, of honor and deception, of truth and frankness, of reliability and untrustworthiness. They will as deliberately and coolly lie to a white man about anything and everything — if it suits their purpose — as they will [55 tell the truth. Ask a man his name — an insult, by 57] the way — and he will lie to you, even though you are a good friend; as, for instance, when, after being the guest of "Supai Charley" for several days, I quietly and without seeming intent asked him his name, which I knew to be Wa-lu-tha-ma, that I might send him some gifts I had promised. For a few moments he hesitated, and then said "Qu-ar-ri" — a Wallapai name that has no relation to the Havasus whatever. Sinyela was full of deception, and yet, when a friend told him he might catch one of his horses and ride it so far, and we reached that point and I suggested to him that he take the pony forward and leave it at the designated spot on his return, he would not listen to it for a moment.

They are petty thieves, but years of experience have taught me that they could not be persuaded to engage in larceny on a grander scale. One of my first experiences in this line was to have some little thing taken from my camp many years ago (I forget now what it was). Immediately I sent for Hotouta, and told him the article must be returned. In a few hours the boy thief (now a hang-dog looking buck) came and brought back the article.

On my last visit, coffee and candy were taken from my sacks at Wa-lu-tha-ma's hawa, and three necklaces which I had taken as presents for some of the children. I spoke angrily to my host of his negligence to protect my goods when they were in his care, and, as for the necklaces, said if they were not returned by morning I should complain to the agent, and have the thief discovered and punished. Long before sunrise in the morning the necklaces were returned.

There is a good deal of craft about some of them. For a long time Captain Jim and a few others had wished to have a road or trail made around Huc-gli-i-wa that would make it less dangerous, and add much to the comfort of the people, who lived both above and below this spot, when they wished to visit each other. For years nothing was done. But when, this year, he took the matter up again, he did it in a round-about way that won success. He urged that an invitation be sent to the leading horsemen of the Wallapais to bring their best horses and come and run races with them. The Wallapais accepted the invitation. Now was Captain Jim's opportunity for the display of his finesse. He casually suggested to some of the most ardent racers that the way to beat the Wallapais was to make a race-track

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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157 just the same as the white men did, and, when it was
181 completed, train their horses to run on it until they
541 were so familiar with it that, when the Wallapais
574 came, they would be able to take all the advantages
499 this additional knowledge would give. The suggestion worked like a charm. It was Tom Sawyer's woodpile over again. The young men waited on the Kohot, Manakacha, and asked permission to cut a road a mile long through the middle portion of the canyon. The only place where this could be done was just where Captain Jim desired the road. He was appointed to see that the work was properly done, and the first few days of my visit were enlivened by the echoing roars of the powder explosions that were set off. When I went down to the lower part of the village it was over the new and completed road, a full mile in length, and well cut out and graded. Such a consummation was devoutly to be wished, and while races are not an unmixed good, one could tolerate them the easier for the Havasupais if they would always be the means of accomplishing such desirable ends.

157 The Havasupais are far from being dull and stupid, as
181 casual observers suppose. They can see the point of things as quickly as some of their white neighbors. For instance; I have elsewhere, in my Grand Canyon book, told how Silver, Hotouta's fine horse, was given to Mr. Bass. This horse has always been an object of envy to some of the young men of the tribe. Mr. Bass also bought from Sinyela a red mule of some of my exciting experiences. Having once had possession of this mule was in itself an overpowering temptation to those Indians, who, in the days of Sinyela's ownership, had been permitted to ride it. Consequently Mr. Bass

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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was often annoyed by finding, on his return from an absence of a few days, that Silver and the mule, one or both, had been taken from the pasture and ridden by the Indians. When he completed his trail across the river and finally established the ferry that bears his name — the only ferry, by the way, across the Grand Canyon, and the only one on the Colorado River between Lee's Ferry and the one below the mouth of the canyons — he decided to swim Silver and the mule across the river and keep them for use on the north side. When this was done Chickapanagie was present. With a twinkle in his eye he said: "Bass heap sopogie (understand). Havasupai no ride 'em Silvern, and Red Mule no more."

There is wide diversity in the attitude different members of the tribe hold towards the whites. Some are friendly, others openly hostile and ugly, while others merely receive strangers on sufferance as a necessary evil, useful for the purchase of baskets and such other things as they may have to dispose of.

Manakacha was elected to his kohot-ship because the majority of the men were in favor of keeping out the whites from Havasu Canyon, and he was ever averse to the white man.

Those, however, who are friendly, are good and true friends, as those who knew Hotouta, Spotty, and others who are gone can testify.

Spotty was a genial, kindly soul, with whom I had various dealings. He was intelligent and reliable in his intercourse with me, though a medicine-man and ready to dispense charms, incantations, and native medicines on the slightest pecuniary provocation. On one of my early trips to Havasu I negligently overlooked

578 857 865 [114] When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

578 [181] Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

861 [304] Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over, their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties." 302 856 [841]

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression. 302 [181] [142]

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing. 515

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general. 836

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself. 864 894

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

585 kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were considered gifts rather than payments. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this imprecise arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and duties on each side is consistent with the general lack of precise definition in the total culture.

[181]

Forms of Marriage

587 As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more frequently.

595 While the predominant type of marriage was monogamy, polygyny was fairly common. Spier (1928, 224) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho, who died about 1900, had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, it was held that the second wife should leave, but usually a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, 224).

[586] When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

562 While the roles of male and female are not sharply separated by a boundary line over which there can be no stepping for either sex, masculine and feminine behavior among the Havasupai is, nevertheless, clearly differentiated.

562 967 181 A woman's possible roles are verbally described and actively exemplified by her mother and other feminine relatives and tribal members. She herself is directed, guided, or otherwise encouraged to assume the proper feminine roles from early childhood. Her training is largely permissive, but small girls are firmly given more work to do than boys and are accorded more responsibility. However, girls appear to be insistently, rather than forcefully, directed toward acceptable feminine behavior. Havasupai parents, reflecting Havasupai cultural attitudes, clearly point out the possible feminine roles. So successfully is this done that no instance was discovered in which a woman had adopted masculine behavior which irrevocably and continuously set her apart from other women. A few women have performed masculine roles such as hunting, horse racing, or giving advice. However, such activity was always secondary to the individual's performance of feminine roles enacted simultaneously. It did not remotely threaten to eclipse her primary function as a woman. Moreover, women who adopted masculine behavior limited it to only one or two roles, and such women were always exceptions.

181 562 967 Havasupai society is a masculine-dominated one, and women are in a relatively inferior position. However, this does not mean that the feminine position is an altogether undesirable one. It means, instead, that the feminine course is a limited one, that women have a rather narrowly prescribed path which they must follow to find fulfillment of basic needs or desires. It does not limit the degree of satisfaction obtainable to them, but only the manner in which they may obtain it.

Training of the girl from birth to maturity accustoms her to roles expected of her without suggesting alternative courses, except of course those she sees prescribed for boys in her society and which from infancy she is discouraged from adopting. Girls learn at an early age that theirs is a life of submissiveness, that they may not chart their own course, and that always there will be men closely attached to them to whom they must defer. Women apparently learn this lesson well, and are able to adapt themselves to the various roles set for them, or so their calmer acceptance of disappointment or denial would seem to indicate.

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement. 181 562 867 [578] [177]

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense. 152 181 562

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life. (Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1936.) 181 562

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots. 421 562 [221]

Under former circumstances, a woman's greatest, or perhaps only, emotional satisfaction and security lay in assuming the roles of wife and mother. Her greatest physical security lay in fulfillment of her part in the economically complementary roles of husband and wife. Every girl expected to marry, and virtually every woman did marry at least once. Havasupai culture, therefore, delineated a pattern of feminine behavior and an ultimate goal possible or attainable for every Havasupai woman. In this, the society theoretically provided opportunity for all women equally, subject only to individual limitations. Competition existed among the women, of course, for masculine attention and support. 181 562 [581] 477 562

Competition among women in other areas was virtually nonexistent because of the absence of other goals. About the only exception to this was competition in such skills as basketweaving, cooking, and other wifely chores. Competitive spirit was so little emphasized that while excellence was admired, it seemingly did not inspire others to expend much effort to equal or excel in a particular skill.

Havasupai culture, in a broad view, is simple in content. General rules of conduct can be stated explicitly by tribal members, but in application a good deal of leeway is permissible according to the exigencies of particular situations. Within the resulting rather broad framework of possible behavior, an individual of either sex has a wide range of choices open to him in the performance of daily tasks and the manner of their performance. This lack of cultural definition leaves room for considerable personal freedom. A Havasupai woman, while her roles are generally the submissive ones and while her status must always be inferior to that ascribed to or obtainable by men in her family and social group, possesses the personal freedom inherent in her society, just as Havasupai men do, and only to a lesser degree. 181 562

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 [161] In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today, early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] [439] [527] [648] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 361 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 221 241 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The [361] village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

142 mouth, round which they slightly curve. The necks are short, though well developed.

The women are shorter than the men, with thicker, bushier, coarser hair; broader, flatter faces, inclined to roundness; mouths and eyes larger, though the latter are less prominent; shoulders and thighs very broad; breasts rather flat and with enormously long mammæ; arms and legs admirably formed, with small, shapely hands and feet. Stoutness and corpulency are common with [481] them, and in walking they spread the legs very far apart, which gives them an awkward and curious appearance *en route*. [515] Both men and women are rather light complexioned, although the women are lighter, and at the same time dirtier, than the men. Among the children, the two sexes appear less different from each other, both resembling the women, except that their extremities are poorly developed.

152 The Ha-va-su-paí are very merry and somewhat vivacious, most affectionate ●181 to children and pets, and very hospitable to strangers, although excessively 609 suspicious of them and timid, until entirely assured of their peaceful intentions, when they become communicative and familiar; even the children approaching them, and never crying, as is the case with most other Indian children, if they are themselves approached. They [578] are of a very peaceable disposition, never quarreling among themselves, save with their tongues, and then only to resent a 181 supposed wrong. They are nevertheless passionate, although able to control 152 themselves admirably under heat. When angry they talk excessively, and when beaten or discouraged in a quarrel, smother their wrath either in sulky silence or extremely politic bearing toward the offensive party. Wonderfully fearful and distrustful by nature, they are also long-suffering, although determined and emotionless in dealing revenge or death to their enemies. They

They never chastise children, although, like them, they are fitfully very cruel or kind to pets and domesticated animals. The men, who constantly crowded about my host's hut, were incessantly chattering and laughing, even when the gravest subjects were approached or discussed. The women are by education less vivacious than the men. While paying no attention to pets, they are as affectionate toward children as are the men. They shrink from strangers, rarely, if ever, join in conversation, and preserve a modest bearing, not so much from nature as through fear of censure from the men. They are patient and industrious in the extreme, and while at work are inclined to chat in a sort of monotone with one another. During the absence of the men, they are more disposed to be communicative with strangers, seemingly, not sharing their suspicions of them. The women are not as passionate as the men, although easily moved to tears.

The men are very inquisitive, curious to know about other nations, although not much impressed by things beyond their own comprehension, and unable readily to receive complex ideas. They are humorous and quite witty, delighting in repartee, hoaxing, and jokes; and look in a facetious rather than a critical light upon the awkwardness or discomfiture, even though serious, of others. They laughed and chatted and joked for hours about the death of one of our horses, and the predicament it left us in. The animal, weak after its terrible passage of the deserts, had staggered into the river and drowned. Most spirited and laughable pictures were drawn of our probable sufferings and tears, when returning without the horse; but they said we ought to be comforted in our loss, even with the prospect of famine or exhaustion, when we reflected that it was a great gain to themselves; furnishing them plenty of fresh meat, and cheapening wonderfully the contents of at least one pack. Their perceptive faculties

Their perceptive Faculties

181 151 153 are good, especially relative to simple ideas and actions, or to the ludicrous. They are capable of connecting words with any new idea which they comprehend, and are the most remarkably imitative human beings I ever saw, both by action and with the voice. They would repeat whole sentences, with marvelous truthfulness of sound, in Moqui, Zuñi, Navajo, Spanish, or English, and they manifested a universal passion for acquiring foreign tongues. All these characteristics, together with their striking powers of retention, were shown in the example following: One of them asked me to write the sentence, "Give it to me," in English, Ha-va-su-pai, and Zuñi. I wrote it, and carefully pronounced it in the three languages, showing him the order of the words. He ran over them a few times, and surprised me a day or two after not only by repeating every word correctly, but by pointing out the different sentences, and even words, which he pronounced. This seemed to argue an appreciation of form as well as of sound and its meaning; on attempting to copy any sentence, however, they would labor patiently, but present a scrawl in which not a mark could be detected that had the remotest resemblance to a single letter in the original. [212] They did not seem either to be very curious about my writing, or to have the slightest comprehension of it; but would watch and mimic the motions of my hand and pencil in writing, and even the expression of my mouth, then take the pencil, imitate all these things very closely, produce a meaningless scrawl, and gravely read off a ridiculous, usually obscene, rendering of it; seeking my interpreter, and taking infinite pains to have their frivolities very carefully rendered to me in Zuñi. [522]

281 461 They are skilled in manufacturing and using implements, especially in producing raw material, like buckskin, for which they have universal celebrity from the Colorado to the Rio Grande. The

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women excel the men in such dexterity, being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert hunters, and constantly practice marksmanship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their superiority. The women are certainly duller and less impressionable than the men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

Strangest of all, however, with their lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews to the uses of the lesser rooms and niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little cachés, or granaries

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâkâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 674 The Ha-va-su-pai have, among themselves, few of the crimes which destroy the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering grayhead. The parents are excessively fond of their children, and the latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

[855 861] They are not so fair-dealing toward 648 721 the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them. 648 177 "But," he added, "the time has come when I see this is wrong, and my people will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you?" [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

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